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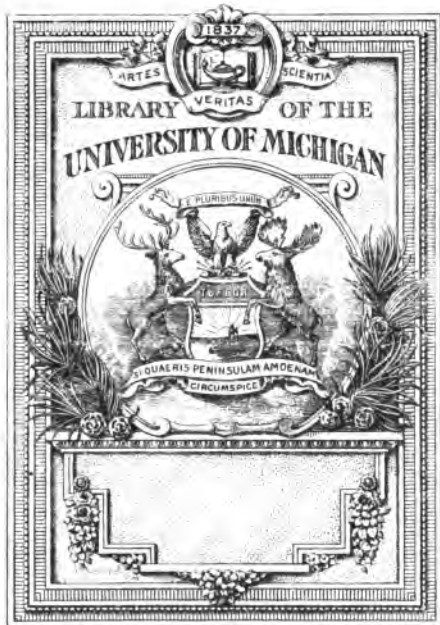


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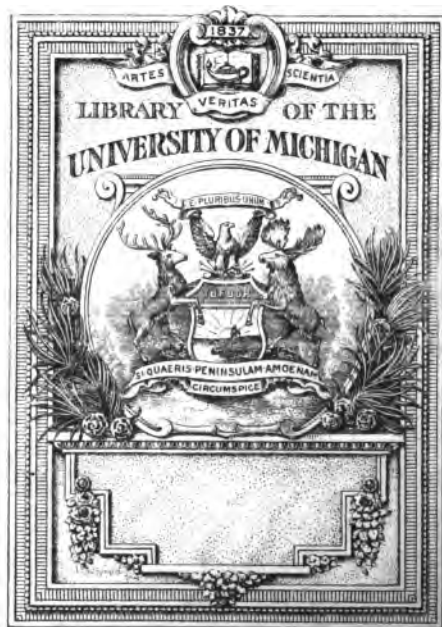
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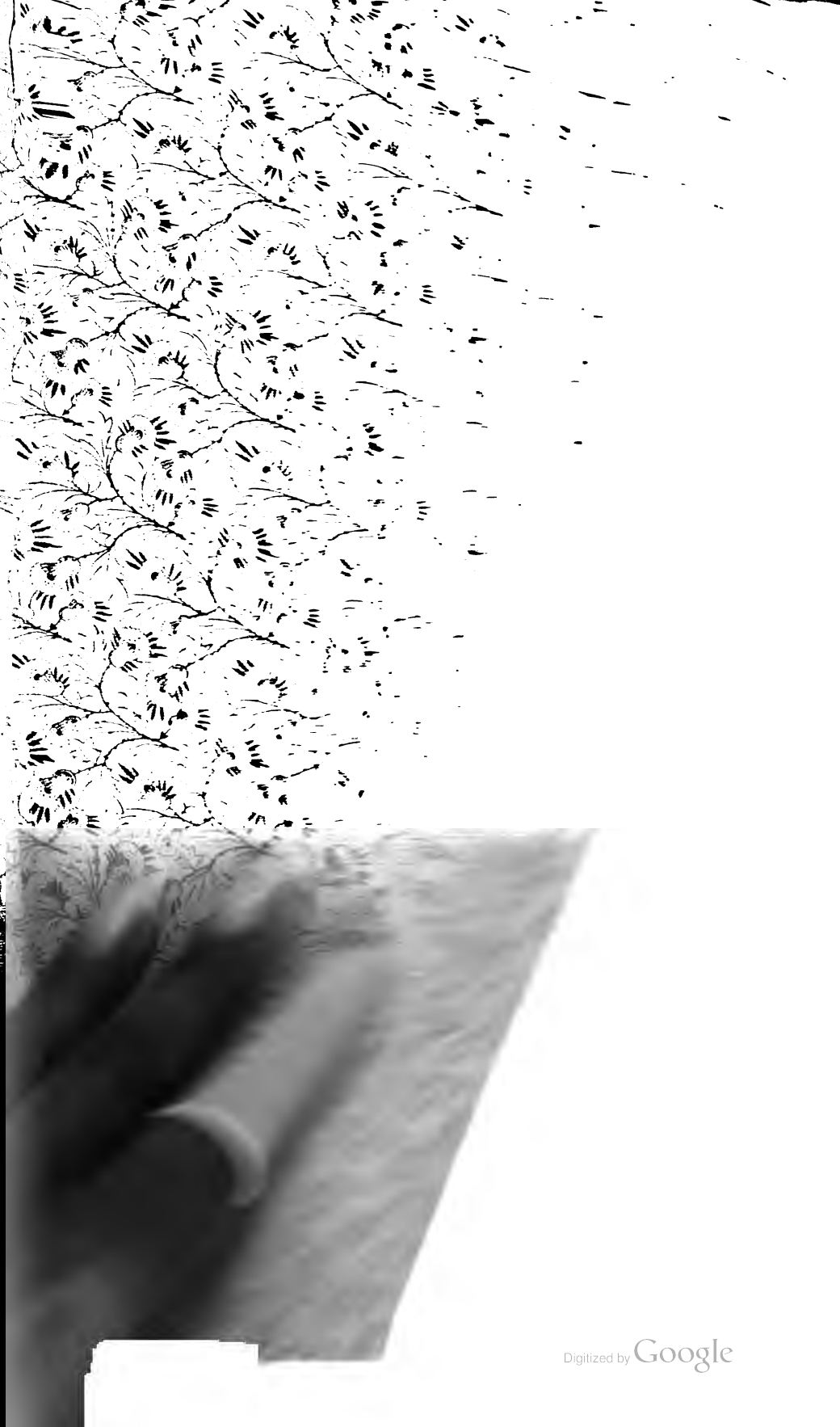
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A vindication of the
late James Graham
from the charges of
Mr. Bancroft.

By Josiah Quincy.









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THE
M E M O R Y
OF
THE LATE JAMES GRAHAME,
THE HISTORIAN OF THE UNITED STATES,
VINDICATED
FROM THE
CHARGES OF "DETRACTION" AND "CALUMNY" PREFERRED
AGAINST HIM BY MR. GEORGE BANCROFT,
AND
THE CONDUCT OF MR. BANCROFT
TOWARDS THAT HISTORIAN
STATED AND EXPOSED.

By JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON:
WM. CROSBY AND H. P. NICHOLS,
118 WASHINGTON STREET.
1846.

Handwritten text in a vertical column on the left margin, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

VINDICATION.

THERE appeared in the Boston Courier of the fourth of March last a letter from Mr. George Bancroft, addressed to Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, the editor of that paper, in which he complains of a "*groundless attack*" made upon him, and a "*grievous wrong*" done to the memory of John Clarke, of Rhode Island, by James Grahame, author of "*The History of the United States of North America*" recently published in this country.

Mr. Bancroft also complains that the American editor of Mr. Grahame's work (Josiah Quincy) has "given publicity to [Grahame's] personal criminations of him [Mr. Bancroft]," — "still insists on attributing to Clarke the dishonest part of making 'hollow pretences to loyalty' and adducing 'supposititious proofs' of it," — has lent his aid to the promulgation of Grahame's "*renewed detraction*" of Clarke, and has "stepped forward to defend the new version of the [Mr. Grahame's] *calumny*, accompanied by an impeachment of his [Mr. Bancroft's] 'candor,' 'correctness,' and 'rectitude.'" The letter concludes with the following words: — "*Mr. Quincy owes it to me, and owes it*

to the memory of the dead whom he has wronged, to correct the statements which he has put forth ; and, as he published Grahame's work by subscription, he should send a copy of the correction to every one of his subscribers."

I thank Mr. Bancroft for the suggestion. A copy of this pamphlet shall be sent to every subscriber to Grahame's History, so far as they can be ascertained. It shall also be published in a form adapted to the most extensive circulation ; so that wheresoever either that History or Mr. Bancroft's History shall go, there this pamphlet shall accompany it, if the purchaser so pleases.

Although I enter with exceeding reluctance on the work to which I am thus publicly called, it shall not be slighted. The memory of a man to whom every American owes a debt of gratitude is publicly assailed by Mr. Bancroft, — charged with "detraction" and "calumny." His defence is cast upon me by circumstances I neither sought nor desired, but the obligations of which I recognize ; and no considerations of personal labor or responsibility shall deter me from discharging these obligations fully, faithfully, and fearlessly.

So far as I may be thought to be personally involved in the controversy which has arisen between these two historians, I am indeed greatly mistaken, if, after considering the developments I am now compelled to make, and which, unless thus called upon, it was my intention never to have laid before the public, all impartial and intelligent minds do not concur in the opinion, that heretofore my proceedings towards Mr. Bancroft have been kind and considerate, and that hitherto he has owed me gratitude and thanks for what I have withheld, rather than complaint and crimination for what I have written and published.

I shall give a simple narrative of the origin of the controversy between these historians, of my connection with it, and of the language and conduct of Mr. Bancroft in relation to it.

James Grahame, a Briton, highly educated, deeply imbued with a religious spirit, and distinguished for private worth and moral sentiment singularly pure and elevated, imbibed early in life, from paternal influence and the liberal tendencies of his own mind, a deep interest in the institutions, and a lively affection for the character, of the people of the United States. Under these influences, he was led, in the year 1824, to commence a Colonial History of that people, the first two volumes of which, ending with the era of the English Revolution of 1688, he published in 1827. And in 1836, having finished his original design, and brought his History down to the period of the American Declaration of Independence, he published his work complete in four volumes octavo.

A spirit more truly devoted to America, better disposed to do justice to her cause, or more deeply touched with admiration of her conduct and principles, cannot be expected, or hoped for, even among her native citizens. To his History of the United States he gave nearly twenty years of the best part of his life, and sought, with great labor and expense, the original and authentic materials for his undertaking, in the libraries of England, Scotland, France, and Germany. Considering the disadvantages under which he wrote, his success is truly wonderful. He had never visited the United States; his personal acquaintance with Americans was confined to a few individuals; and his opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the idi-

osyncrasies of the people were unavoidably limited. But, on the other hand, he enjoyed singular advantages in his free access to the great collections relative to American history in the British Museum and the public offices of Great Britain, which are far more extensive than any existing in this country. A work of more thorough and laborious research, or more faithful to its authorities, is yet to be written, if it ever can be.

This historian, thus kindly disposed, and without one conceivable motive to be unjust to any man or any party, came, in the course of his narrative, to the consideration of the political relations of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, antecedent to the charter obtained for Rhode Island, from Charles the Second, in 1663, through the agency of John Clarke. The authorities from whom he drew his narrative of the negotiation by which that charter was obtained were Chalmers and Hazard ; chiefly the former, although, in material features, corroborated by the latter. The high character of these authorities is too well known and established to render it necessary for me to offer any testimony to their merits ; Mr. Bancroft, certainly, will not call in question their accuracy and fidelity, since in his own History he continually cites and relies upon them. Chalmers relates, that, during the year 1644, the people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations “procured from the chiefs of the Narraghansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King’s Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown,” — that the measure was “offensive to Massachusetts,” — and that subsequently “*the deputies of these plantations boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of this transaction, and at the*

same time ‘challenged the agents of Boston to display any one act of duty or loyalty shewn by their constituents to Charles the First, or to the present king, from their first establishment in New England.’ The challenge thus confidently given was not accepted.” He then proceeds to state briefly, that in May, 1647, the Plantations adopted a new form of government, which was suspended in October, 1652, by an order of the Council of State for the English Commonwealth; that it was soon resumed, however, and enjoyed till the Restoration, when they immediately proclaimed Charles the Second, and sent Clarke as their agent to the court of that monarch to solicit a charter, which he obtained in September, 1662, and which was finally passed in 1663.*

Now the only individual who at *any time during the reign of Charles the Second* sustained the character of *deputy of these plantations* was John Clarke, whose mission terminated in 1664,† — and besides Clarke’s

* See Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 273, 274.

† It appears by the State Records and Proceedings of Assembly, as cited in Potter’s Early History of Narragansett (R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., p. 72) that in June, 1670, “John Clark and John Greene were appointed to go to England and vindicate the colonies’ rights before the king.” The occasion of this appointment seems to have been a dispute with the neighbouring colony of Connecticut, in regard to their respective rights in the Narragansett country. “Considering,” however, “the great travill and charge of going so far a voyage as that will require,” and for other reasons, the Assembly of Rhode Island, in October following, proposed to the Assembly of Connecticut “that they compose their differences among themselves, and forbear troubleing his Majistye with complaints” (Potter’s Early Hist. of Narr., Appendix, p. 184), — a proposal which seems finally to have been acquiesced in. The occasion for the intended mission being thus removed, the deputies appear not to have been sent. This is confirmed by the fact, that in Backus (Vol. I., pp. 398–400) we find a letter bearing date Nov. 30, 1670, addressed to Mr. Clarke at Newport; and by the authority first above cited it ap-

negotiation which resulted in the Rhode Island charter, there is no intimation in Chalmers of the existence of any other during this reign — and in fact there was no other conducted by “deputies of these plantations” — to which the “challenge” and the “boast” can possibly be referred. Moreover, the colonial authorities of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were at this very time engaged in an angry controversy in regard to their respective rights of jurisdiction and territory in the Narragansett country;* and to procure his Majesty’s adjudication upon this point appears to have been a leading object with Rhode Island in appointing Clarke, and with Massachusetts in sending Bradstreet and Norton, as their respective deputies to the court of Charles the Second.† Furthermore,

pears that Clarke and Greene were both present at “a Court of Justices held at Westerly,” May 16, 1671, — the former in the capacity of Deputy-governor, and the latter in that of Assistant. — This is the only mention I have been able to find, after a careful search into all the authorities, of any appointment of deputies for the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to the Court of Charles the Second subsequently to Clarke’s return in 1664.

A decisive confirmation of the statement in the text will be found in the following extract from a letter from Professor Gammell, of Brown University, Providence, R. I., the learned and accomplished author of the *Life of Roger Williams*, in Sparks’s *American Biography*, — written in reply to one addressed to him by me on this subject, in April, 1845. He says, “I can find no account of any other agent of the colony at the court of Charles the Second than ‘our trustie John Clarke, physician, of Newport.’ Before the time of Charles the Second, Roger Williams was for a short period associated with Clarke; and it is possible that Gorton and his associates, when in England some time before, may have been regarded as agents; but after the Restoration, it does not appear that the colony had any other representative than Dr. Clarke.”

* See Backus, I., 336 – 346.

† This appears by the tenor of their respective commissions and instructions. Clarke’s commission, dated Oct. 18, 1660, recites that “there have been sundry obstructions emerging, whereby this colony

in the preamble of the charter of 1663, *the very same vaunts are expressly attributed to Clarke which Chalmers ascribes to "the deputies of these [the Rhode Island and Providence] plantations,"* — namely, the loyalty of his constituents, and their merit in procuring the surrender of the Narragansett country to the English crown; and this boasted loyalty and merit stand prominent among the grounds on which the charter is declared to be granted: — "Whereas we [the king] *have been informed, by the humble petition of our trusty and well beloved subject, John Clarke, on the behalf of, &c., and the rest of the purchasers and free inhabitants of our Island called Rhode Island, and*

have been put to trouble and charge for the preservation and keeping inviolate those privileges and immunities to us granted in the foresaid free charter [of 1643], which said obstructions arise from the claims and encroachments of neighbours about us to and upon some parts of the tract of land mentioned in our charter to be within the bounds of this colony"; and the only instructions to Clarke were upon the single point of "the preservation of all and singular the privileges, liberties, boundaries, and immunities of this colony against all unlawful usurpations, intrusions, and claims of any person or persons, on any pretences or by any combination whatsoever." — See R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., pp. 239, 240.

The instructions to the Massachusetts agents (Bradstreet and Norton) are couched in general terms: 1st. to "present us to his Majesty as his loyal and obedient subjects"; 2d. to "endeavour to take off all scandal and objections which are or shall be made against us"; 3d. to "endeavour the establishment of the rights and privileges we now enjoy"; 4th. "not to engage us by any act to any thing which may be prejudicial to our present standing according to patent." (See Hutchinson, Coll., p. 355.) But that they were to treat, among other things, of the subject matter of the controversy with Rhode Island, may be gathered from the record of the "Proceedings of the Committee of the General Court, appointed for the dispatch of Agents to England," among which we find an order to the Secretary of the Colony, bearing date 7th of January, 1661, to "transcribe the records of the court, referring to the proceedings of the court concerning Gorton and his company, *Roads Island*, the Ironworkes, the Quakers, Piscataqua, &c., and such other as he shall see needful to give a right understanding of the grounds of the court's proceedings about the same." — Hutchinson, Coll., p. 347.

the rest of the colony of Providence Plantations, &c., that they, pursuing with peaceable and *loyal minds*, &c., did transport themselves, &c., and having, by near neighbourhood to and friendly society with the great body of the *Narragansett Indians*, given them *encouragement, of their own accord, to subject themselves, their people and lands, unto us*, &c.; and whereas, in their humble address, they have freely declared that it is much on their hearts to hold forth a lively experiment, &c., and that true piety, &c., will give *the best and greatest security to sovereignty*, and will lay in the hearts of men *the strongest obligations to true loyalty*: Now know ye, that we, being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of *our said loyal and loving subjects*, &c., and to preserve unto them that liberty, &c., which they have sought with so much travel, and with peaceable minds, and *loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves*, to enjoy," &c.*

* Hazard, Vol. II., pp. 612, 613.

In the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d Series, Vol. VII., pp. 98-101, is a copy of an "Humble Petition and Address of the Governor and Company of his Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" to Charles the Second, dated May 3d, 1665, which may be worthy of observation in this connection. The address begins thus:—"That whereas your Majesty's most humble subjects and supplicants, as soon as we heard of the joyful tidings of your Majesty's happy restoration to the possession of your royal crown and dignity, making our humble addresses by petition unto your royal Majesty, in which we employed that faithful and trusty agent, Mr. John Clarke, did thereupon, by your Majesty's royal bounty, obtain a most free and ample charter of incorporation, for our possessing, improving, and governing the lands and islands in and of the Narragansett Bay and country in New England, which grant your Majesty was graciously pleased to make firm and good to us and our successors forever, under the great seal; and that also done, after your Majesty had taken cognizance of the Indian Sachems' submission of the said country unto your Majesty in the year 1662, in which they remembered an address of the same

Reasoning from the facts here adverted to, Grahame did not and could not entertain a doubt that the language and conduct attributed by Chalmers to "the deputies of these plantations" were intended to be understood of John Clarke; and being thus led to form a very unfavorable opinion of the proceedings of this envoy, he deemed it his duty, as a faithful historian, to express that opinion according to the strength in which it existed in his own mind, and] to declare that "*Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought.*" He then proceeds, almost in the very language of Chalmers, united with other facts adduced from the history of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, to produce the evidence on which he had expressed this judgment. The exactness with which Grahame defers to his authorities, as it is highly illustrative of his historical fidelity, deserves in this connection to be noticed and carefully observed.*

The epithet "baseness," if applicable to the case at all, might possibly have been more appropriately applied to the policy pursued by Clarke, or to the constituents whose language and feelings he fairly represented, and by whom he was in every respect upheld and applauded, than personally to the negotiator. In applying that epithet, Grahame did not sufficiently allow for the personal provocation, if indeed he was aware of it, which Clarke had received from Massa-

nature made some eighteen years before to your royal father of blessed memory, which their address was never nor could be taken notice of, until their late address aforementioned in 1662."

The Committee appointed to draw up this Petition, it is stated in a note, were "the Governor (W. Brenton), W. Baulston, W. Harris, J. Greene, and J. Clarke."

* See Appendix, A.

chusetts,* nor for the oppressive conduct of this colony towards the Rhode Islanders, who had many grounds of apology and justification for the language and policy they encouraged and approved in their envoy. No true American can, however, fail to admire and feel grateful for the spirit of affection for the liberties of New England, and of honor for the conduct of the Massachusetts agents, which excited the historian to apply that epithet to the adverse negotiator. Such an American would have seen in that expression the spontaneous effusion of a mind animated by an intense love of liberty, entering with an ardent and enthusiastic zeal into the cause of colonial freedom and of New England independence.

Not so Mr. Bancroft. Without making any allowance for the circumstances which must have given rise in Mr. Grahame's mind to the opinion he expressed concerning the supposed language and conduct of Clarke in the specified negotiation, — without showing any sympathy for the character, or regard for the feelings, of the most friendly disposed Briton that ever wrote concerning the affairs of the United States, he deliberately affixes to a passage in his History, laudatory of the general character of John Clarke, a note, in which he expresses himself as follows: — “*The charge of ‘baseness’ in Grahame I. 315, edition of 1836, IS GRAHAME’S OWN INVENTION.*” This expression

* He had not only been obliged to fly from Massachusetts for his “heresies,” but, after settling at Aquidneck (Rhode Island), having visited Massachusetts, he, being a minister of the Baptist persuasion, was found “venting his heresies” there, was arrested, imprisoned, and condemned to “pay a fine of twenty pounds, or be well whipt.” Clarke escaped by having his fine paid by his friends; but one of his companions, having no such friends, had the sentence executed upon him according to the letter. — Backus, Vol. I., pp. 215 – 225, 234 – 236.

Grahame understood, according to its true nature and only possible bearing, as a deliberate charge against himself of invention regarding an historical fact ; which he considered and felt as a charge of wilful fabrication. Mr. Bancroft was soon informed, by one of Mr. Grahame's friends, through the public prints, of his feelings on this occasion, and in language suited to the nature of such a personal insult ; but instead of meeting the subject as Mr. Grahame thought he had a right to expect from a gentleman and brother historian, Mr. Bancroft so delayed and so conducted himself as to satisfy Grahame that he never intended either to explain or apologize, except upon conditions to which Grahame, in regard of his own sense of character, could not possibly submit. At length, after waiting three or four years, it appears that he saw fit, in vindication of himself, and in view of his own death, to place on permanent record an expression of his sense of the injurious language applied to him by Mr. Bancroft. Accordingly, in the revised edition of his History, in a note in reference to this subject, he remarks : — “ Mr. Bancroft has, with strange lack of courtesy and correctness, reproached me with having *invented* the charge I have preferred against Clarke. I am incapable of such dishonesty ; and sincerely hope that Mr. Bancroft's reproach is, and will continue, on his part, a solitary instance of deviation from candor and rectitude.” In reference to Clarke, he adds, (after modifying somewhat the aspect and the severity of his first charge against him, by substituting for the word “ baseness ” the expression “ suppleness of adroit servility, ”) — “ With a mixture of pain and admiration, I have witnessed the displeasure with which some of the *literati* of Rhode Island have received my stric-

tures on Clarke. The authorities they have cited prove undeniably that he was a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity. But every person acquainted with history and human nature ought to know how apt even good men are to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke.”*

This note Mr. Bancroft has made the occasion of a renewed attack upon Mr. Grahame, and of a charge of “renewed detraction” against him, — a charge which he attempts to justify by the production of a document recently brought to light in the State-paper Office in London. It seems that recent researches, made in that office, in December and January last, by request of Mr. Bancroft, resulted in disclosing the following fact, namely:—that the words *Italicized* in pages 6 and 7 of this pamphlet, relating to the challenge and boast made by “*the deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,*” substantially coincide with the words used in a petition of Randall Holden and John Greene to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, *about the year 1678 – 9.*

Although Chalmers gives no reference whatever, nor so much as the slightest clew, to the document from which he quotes,† so as to enable us to determine

* Grahame’s United States, Vol. I., pp. 322, 323. Revised American Edition.

† Directly following the words which he quotes as used by the deputies of the Plantations, Chalmers introduces a reference to this note at the end of the chapter:—“There is a copy of the Indian Surrender in New-Eng. Papers, bundle 3; and see the same, p. 25.” It is hardly necessary to observe that this reference points to a totally distinct matter from that under consideration. That the clerk of the State-paper Office so “very quickly” discovered the document which Mr. Bancroft inquired for is to be ascribed solely to a lucky chance, or perhaps to an intimate ac-

with certainty that the paper produced by Mr. Bancroft is in fact the one quoted by Chalmers, it may nevertheless be admitted that the coincidence here remarked is sufficiently striking to create a presumption favorable to this hypothesis. But what then? In what possible way can this be justly regarded as impairing in the slightest degree Mr. Grahame's credit as a faithful historian, or as giving even a color of plausibility to the charge of "invention" or "unwarranted misapprehension" preferred against him by Mr. Bancroft? The test of fidelity in a historian is the accuracy with which he represents facts derived from approved authorities. Now Chalmers, in express terms, attributes the language he quotes to "*the deputies of these [the Rhode Island and Providence] plantations.*" But Holden and Greene, according to Mr. Bancroft's own showing, and by the account they give of themselves in their petition, were merely "*deputies for the town of Warwick.*" The only other information concerning them and the nature and objects of their mission is that contained in the following incidental notices preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

"1678. Capt. Randal Houlden and Capt. John Greene, *agents for the town of Warwick, in a private difference*, went for England, and informed his Majesty that both government and soil of the Narraganset country belonged to him, and that there was never any legal purchase there made.

"1678, 9. His Majesty writes to all the colonies in New England of this information, and commands them

acquaintance with the contents of the files under his care; there is certainly nothing in Chalmers's note which could have directed him to it.

forthwith to make their right and title, both of soil and government, to appear before him at Whitehall, or else he would proceed so and so, &c." *

"Now at last [1679] comes the king's pleasure to be known, for the issuing the long contests and differences about this litigious country of Narragansett, the occasion arising about difference between Mr. William Harris, of Pawtuxet, and the town of Warwick, about certain lands claimed by both parties. To the issuing thereof, Capt. Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies from the town of Warwick, prefers a petition to his late Majesty, in or about the year 1678, and in their petition *makes a digression from their lands, and steps into the Narragansett country, giving his Majesty an account thereof not pertinent to their deputation*, which gives an occasion to the lords of the committee for trade and plantations to notify a petition presented by Major Richard Smith, concerning the Narragansett country, to which petition the said Greene and Houlden answered readily; but his Majesty, finding their reports various, and the differences great, takes the readiest way to issue them; and therefore, by his letters to the several colonies in New England, dated February 12th, 1678 - 9, acquaints them, that Capt. Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies for the town of Warwick, had certified to his privy council, of their certain knowledge, as having inhabited for above forty years, that never any legal purchase had been made thereof from the Indians by the Massachusetts or any others; that the Indian sachems had submitted themselves and people unto the government of King Charles; and thus these magistrates concludes by

* 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. V., p. 219.

their assertion, that the absolute sovereignty and particular property is invested in him, and therefore strictly wills and requires, that all things relating to the King's Province, or the Narragansett, should remain in the same condition as now they are, or lately have been in, as to the possession and government; and to put a stop to any other contests here, commands all persons, who pretend any right or title to the soil or government of said lands, that they forthwith send over persons sufficiently empowered and entrusted to make their rights and titles appear before his Majesty.*

These two passages, taken from papers preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain, so far as I am aware, *the only information hitherto published* respecting the character of Holden and Greene's deputation, and the contents of their petition, — excepting that now *for the first time* brought to light by Mr. Bancroft. And what does it amount to? Nothing, absolutely nothing, as respects the matter at issue between Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Grahame. The character in which Holden and Greene here appear is, not as "*deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*," accredited to the English court on a general concern of the colony, but merely as agents for the little village of Warwick (little even in those days, — the smallest but two, in point of population, in the whole colony †), petitioners to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, *in a private difference* of the village with an inhabitant of Pawtuxet respecting a land claim. Of the contents of their petition no notice is taken, except of their *impertinently*, without the shad-

* 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., pp. 223, 224.

† See Potter's *Early History of Narragansett*, pp. 102, 104.

ow of authority from Rhode Island, *stepping* into the Narragansett country, and thereby giving occasion in the sequel to a great deal of anxiety and difficulty to the colony. This reference to the Indian Sachems' assignment of their lands to the English crown is the only particular at all corresponding to the statement in Chalmers. There is no hint of any vaunt of loyalty, any challenge of the Massachusetts deputies, or even of the presence of any deputies from Massachusetts at Charles's court.

And now what was there in all this to have led Grahame, even supposing him to have been cognizant of the petty affair of this deputation (of which, however, there is very little probability, as it is wholly unnoticed by the leading historians, or by any of the authorities whom he seems to have consulted), — what was there in this to have led him to surmise for a moment, that the language which Chalmers attributes to “the deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” was intended to be understood of the “deputies for the town of Warwick”? In view of the notorious fact of the bitter controversy subsisting, at the very time of Clarke's negotiation, between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in reference to the proprietorship and jurisdiction of the Narragansett country, — in view of the tenor of the commissions and instructions to their respective agents at the court of Charles the Second, — in view of the striking coincidence between the language attributed by Chalmers to the Rhode Island deputation, with the information set forth in the preamble of the charter of this colony, as having been communicated by Clarke, and as constituting the grounds on which it was determined to grant that charter, — in view, finally, of the fact, that Chal-

mers makes not the slightest allusion to any other negotiation than that of Clarke, to which the language in question can possibly be referred, and that he was, therefore, according to all the received laws of interpretation, naturally presumed to have meant to refer it to Clarke, particularly as he was really the only deputy for Rhode Island, during this whole reign, of whom mention was made by any historian, — in view of all this, what possible reason can we imagine Grahame to have had for supposing that Chalmers, in attributing the language under consideration as he did, in the plainest terms, to “the deputies of these plantations,” expressed himself inaccurately, and that he really had reference to the “deputies for the town of Warwick,” — an idea which (even if we can suppose it possible, under the circumstances, that it should have once occurred to him) seemed to be decisively negatived by the avowed character of this deputation, and by all that was then known of the contents of their petition? Besides, even had any such suspicion crossed his mind, he had no means of solving the doubt. Chalmers, as already remarked, gives no reference, certainly no obvious reference, to the document from which he quotes; in connection with this whole subject, he refers solely to “a copy of the Indian Surrender” of the Narragansett country; and this surely can hardly be deemed such a reference as would *naturally* have been understood by any one to indicate the document in question. But the supposition of any suspicion in Grahame’s mind as to the accuracy of his authority on the point under consideration is altogether improbable; with the strong corroborative evidence before him, both documentary and circumstantial, of the essential correctness of Chalmers’s statement, to suppose

him to have doubted is to suppose him to have been most rarely endowed with the spirit of "historical skepticism."

But, says Mr. Bancroft, "*Mr. Grahame, though the nature of his error was explained to him, persevered in his accusations.*"* All the explanation which was ever communicated to Mr. Grahame, according to Mr. Bancroft's showing, was that contained in the following extract from a note of Mr. Bancroft to William H. Prescott, Esq., by whom it was transmitted to Mr. Grahame: — "Mr. Grahame was led into error respecting Clarke by attributing to his negotiation for a charter what may have happened, as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second; but on later negotiation about lands and boundaries, a negotiation which took place after Clarke's return, and, I think, after his death. The name, King's Province, was not known till after the grant of the charter, and after Clarke's return." "This," says Mr. Bancroft, "Mr. Grahame read, *but he would not be convinced.*" The *explanation* thus vouchsafed by Mr. Bancroft, it will be observed, is altogether vague, and on some points is couched in terms merely conjectural: — "What *may* have happened,† as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second," — "a negotiation which took place after Clarke's return, and, *I think*, after his death." The reader who takes notice of this fact, and of the further peculiarity by which this *explanation* is marked, namely, — that it is

* Letter to Mr. Buckingham.

† Mr. Bancroft's own language, — not Chalmers's. The turn (of course, *not designed*) given to the sentence in which this expression occurs might lead to the opposite inference.

unaccompanied by so much as a single reference to authorities of any sort, — will probably be at little loss to account for a result which seems greatly to astonish Mr. Bancroft, and to be taken by him as an evidence of the most obdurate contumacy in Mr. Grahame, — that “Mr. Grahame read this, but ——— *would not be convinced!*” Probably Mr. Grahame was not aware of the paramount, and, indeed, conclusive, authority of Mr. Bancroft’s half-conjectures and wholly unsupported *dicta* as to historical matters.

But Mr. Bancroft thinks that “the note” which he “deemed it *due to historic truth* to make,” accusing Grahame of *inventing* the charge he had preferred against Clarke, — that this note, at least, “*should have induced Mr. Grahame to revise the grounds of his opinion.*” * Very reasonable, certainly, to expect that a denunciation of a rival historian, in the face of all the world, in terms virtually stigmatizing him as a calumniator of the basest and most despicable sort, who had dared to “invent,” *fabricate*, facts for the purpose of aspersing an upright and excellent man and patriot, — very reasonable that such denunciation should at least “have induced” the writer against whom it was directed to sit down meekly and “revise the grounds of his opinion”! And this is Mr. Bancroft’s notion of moral cause and effect! — that an indignity, the greatest that could be offered to a high-minded Christian gentleman, nobly proud in the conscious uprightness and integrity of his motives, judgments, and intentions in all that he had written, — that such an indignity, deliberately and in cold blood offered to such a man, should serve to dispose him, if not at once to acknowledge the

* Letter to Mr. Buckingham.

"soft impeachment" of having palmed off a slanderous invention of his own brain as a veritable fact of history, at least to "revise" the matter and consider of it!

And how does Mr. Bancroft know that Mr. Grahame did *not* "revise the grounds of his opinion"? On what does he base this inference? On the fact, that, in the revised edition of Mr. Grahame's History the charge against Clarke is *softened as respects the offensive word, — and that accompanied by a note, which, while it avows the fullest conviction of the true patriotism and excellence of the subject of it, and the reverence due to his general character, at the same time suggests an apology for his conduct in the transaction referred to?* Or is it, rather, because Mr. Grahame did not, in deference to the views of Mr. Bancroft, incontinently abandon, discard, repudiate, all his previous convictions, the result of deliberate and careful study of the highest authorities known to him, that *therefore* it is to be presumed he did not "revise the grounds of his opinion"? A kind of reasoning, this, it must be confessed, in respect of which it is difficult to determine whether is more remarkable, — its logic, or its modesty.

In continuation of the very modest and reasonable suggestion, that "the note" charging him with *invention* "should have induced Mr. Grahame to revise the grounds of his opinion," Mr. Bancroft goes on to observe, — "Instead of it, like Cotton Mather, when witchcraft was questioned, he chose to regard it as an impeachment of his personal veracity; indiscreetly insisted that he had authority for his accusations; and finally indicated as his authority the Annals of Chalmers."

It seems, then, according to Mr. Bancroft, that the reference to Chalmers was wholly an afterthought of

Grahame's ; that, finding himself accused of *inventing* the charge preferred against Clarke, having no manner of authority for the charge, and being goaded for the proofs by which he pretended to substantiate this fiction of his own brain, he, at length, when absolutely driven to the wall, and forced to do battle or acknowledge his infamy, luckily discovered, in a work little accessible to general readers, a loophole for escape from this unpleasant dilemma. Translated into plain language, and stripped of all mere innuendo, this is what Mr. Bancroft means — is it ? — by saying that Mr. Grahame “*indiscreetly* insisted that he had authority for his accusations, and *finally* indicated as his authority the Annals of Chalmers.”

And now what will the reader think, when he learns that in *every* edition of Mr. Grahame's work, *from first to last*, appended to the paragraph containing the charge against Clarke, the authorities on which it was preferred are as plainly indicated as the charge itself, — and in the very first edition even more minutely than in the others ? for while in the second and the revised editions the reference is merely in general terms to “Chalmers, Hazard,” — in the one first published it stands, “Chalmers, 273, 274 – 276, Hazard, ii. 612.” What, especially, will he think, when he learns further, that, so long ago as the year 1839, Mr. Bancroft's attention was particularly directed to this fact by a letter under Mr. Grahame's own hand, — that very letter which drew from Mr. Bancroft the note to Mr. Prescott cited by himself in his recent article in the Boston Courier, — a letter which, in this same note to Mr. Prescott, he acknowledges he had read ? * Of the

* See post, pp. 45 – 47 ; also p. 59.

opinion which should be entertained of the man, *the historian* (and he scrupulously reverent of what is "*due to historic truth*," and possessed with "*a zeal for accuracy which really vexed himself*"), who, with the page containing these references open before him, bearing witness to his face of the utter falsity of the impression he desired to convey, could nevertheless deliberately pen and publish the misstatements here exposed, — it is unnecessary for me to speak. Let the public, to whose tribunal he has presumed to make his appeal, judge him.

Having thus traced the origin of this controversy to Mr. Bancroft's impeachment of Grahame's veracity, having intimated his studied evasion of any direct apology during Grahame's lifetime, and shown the utter irrelevancy of his recent discoveries in respect to the subject matter in question, I now proceed, as I proposed, to state the circumstances which brought me into connection with this affair, and my course in relation to it; — a narrative which I would willingly avoid; but the language, manner, and temper displayed towards me by Mr. Bancroft, in his letter to Mr. Buckingham, and, above all, the artifice to which he has resorted to give a color of apology for denouncing me before the public as his personal assailant, have led to an opinion abroad, that in my proceedings there must have been something to justify the tone of bitter hostility indicated in that letter. I feel it, therefore, a duty which I owe to myself, to leave nothing unexplained in relation to my connection with this controversy.

My first intercourse with Mr. Grahame was official. In 1836, he transmitted, for deposit in the library of Harvard College, a small manuscript, containing a rec-

ord of the authorities he had consulted in writing his History of the United States. In 1839, the Corporation of that institution conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In each case, as President of the University, I addressed to him a letter couched in the terms usual on such occasions. Out of this grew a correspondence, which extended to two, or, at most, three letters, in their nature general and complimentary. This was the whole of our connection, and it excited in me towards him no other feeling or interest than such as unavoidably resulted from the innate excellence of character, the gentlemanly spirit, and the deep affection for the United States, indicated by the tenor of his letters.

In 1842, Mr. Grahame died ; and in the December of that year, the Massachusetts Historical Society appointed me to prepare a Memoir of him, to be published in its Collections, — he having been one of its corresponding members. In reference to this appointment I was not previously consulted, and had no intimation of it until I received an official notice of the vote from the secretary of the Society. My first impulse was to decline it, as incompatible with my official engagements ; and it was only from considerations, urged upon me by several distinguished members of the Society, of the debt of gratitude due from the people of the United States to the learned foreigner who had evinced such a deep interest in their institutions, and had expended so many years of his life, bestowed so much intellectual labor, and made so many sacrifices to display their origin and character to the world, that I was induced to undertake the task assigned me. As the necessary materials were wanting in this country, I unavoidably applied to his family for them. They

met my application in an honorable spirit and with a natural feeling, and transmitted to me the documents from which I was enabled to prepare that Memoir, which is inserted in the ninth volume of the third series of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, and is also prefixed to the first volume of the revised edition of Mr. Grahame's History of the United States, recently published by Lea & Blanchard, of Philadelphia.

From the documents thus transmitted by his family, I first learned that Mr. Grahame had left, at his death, "a corrected and enlarged copy of his History of the United States, and had expressed, among his last wishes, an earnest hope that it might be published, in the form which it had finally assumed under his hand." This information I communicated to several gentlemen distinguished for their literary attainments, and particularly for historical researches, whose names I have already given to the public* in the Memoir to which I have above referred. They were unanimously of opinion that it ought to be sent for, and published in this country. They offered me their aid, by way of subscription, and, if required, their literary advice and assistance in the publication. On notice of this disposition, Mr. Grahame's son transmitted the copy of his father's History, left by him at his death, with the additions and alterations in the author's own handwriting, — prescribing only the single condition, that I would superintend its publication with *fidelity and accuracy, according to the revised manuscript*.

Previously to the arrival in this country of Mr. Grahame's revised History, I was, of course, ignorant of

* They were Mr. Justice Story, Messrs. James Savage, Jared Sparks, and William H. Prescott.

the nature of the additions and corrections he had made in it ; and had not the most distant idea that the degree of agency I had offered to take in its publication could possibly be offensive to Mr. Bancroft. Towards him I had no cause of personal animosity. Our paths in life were different. They had never crossed, or interfered. I had early notice, however, that the publication of Grahame's work in this country would be a circumstance very annoying to Mr. Bancroft, and that the concern I was about to take in it would probably be to him a mortal offence, — that Mr. Grahame had preoccupied the historical path which Mr. Bancroft had selected for himself, and in respect to which he was desirous of impressing the opinion upon the public that he was not only the first to engage in it, but that his right to it was, in a certain sense, exclusive, — that he regarded Grahame in the light of a rival, with feelings which had been excited by charges brought against him by European critics, of having drawn from that historian without acknowledging his obligations, — that his attack upon Grahame's veracity had probably its origin in those feelings, — and that the publication of Grahame's revised work in this country would certainly interfere with his profits, a circumstance which he would feel very sensibly. Having not the most distant thought or desire of entering upon any quarrel with Mr. Bancroft, on receiving this information I was proportionably fixed in the determination to give to him no possible reasonable cause of offence. I accordingly took no one step in relation to that publication, or the Memoir of its author, without consulting men second to few, if to any, in point of talent and intelligence, in the United States, and with reference particularly to my desire of avoid-

ing offence to Mr. Bancroft, — among whom the late Judge Story, my near neighbour and intimate friend, was the individual to whom I had the most frequent resort, and on whose judgment I placed the most implicit reliance.

When, therefore, I received from Mr. Grahame's family the revised copy of his work, and inspected the note which he had inserted in it, relative to Mr. Bancroft's "lack of courtesy and correctness" in reproaching him with "*invention*" in the charge he had preferred against Clarke, I was involved in great perplexity, and submitted to several of these literary and confidential friends the expediency of omitting it altogether. Their opinion was unanimous, that I had no right to exercise any such discretion as the inquiry implied ; — that I had engaged with the family of Mr. Grahame to publish his revised History accurately and faithfully, in accordance with his final additions and corrections, and the power of omission and substitution was not intrusted to me ; and that, particularly, no such power ought to be assumed in the case of Mr. Grahame's note in respect of the language and conduct of Mr. Bancroft ; as, from the tenor of that note, it was obviously his intention to leave on record, for the knowledge of all future times, an expression of his feelings in relation to the treatment he had as an historian received from Mr. Bancroft. Ultimately coinciding myself in this opinion of my literary friends, I adopted the rule, to which I scrupulously adhered, in superintending the publication of Grahame's revised work, *of adding nothing, of retrenching nothing, and of acting only as the medium of giving it to the public faithfully, with his last corrections, and without remark, criticism, or comment of my own ;* and thus those who peruse that History will find I have sent it forth from the press.

When, however, in the course of preparing my Memoir of Mr. Grahame, I came to the evidence, transmitted to me from Europe and existing in this country, relative to Mr. Bancroft's treatment of him, my embarrassment was still greater and extreme. I saw at once the occasion of that note which Mr. Grahame had appended to his History, concerning Mr. Bancroft's "deviation from candor and rectitude"; nor could my mind refrain from acknowledging that he had better reasons for it than I had known or anticipated. If I gave that evidence to the world, I foresaw it would be regarded by Mr. Bancroft as a grievous offence, and that, without allowing for my duty to the memory of a man whose biography I was writing, he would certainly pour upon me the vials of his wrath, as the author of an exposure he had hoped to escape. On the other hand, if I should suppress that evidence, I had reason to apprehend that the European friends of Mr. Grahame might regard me as having been unjust to his memory, in withholding facts from the public, which would explain, if not justify, the feelings he had manifested towards Mr. Bancroft in the note above alluded to.

The course I adopted in this dilemma was again to submit the facts in my possession to judicious literary friends, who had no personal or political animosity towards Mr. Bancroft, explaining to them the nature of my embarrassment, and asking their advice. I found a diversity of opinion existing among them on the subject; — some thinking I might omit all mention of those facts, — others, that I could not omit them without doing injustice to Mr. Grahame. After long and anxious deliberation, I came to the conclusion that I ought to pursue the course dictated by my own feel-

ings and judgment, and accordingly resolved to suppress them, — trusting, that, if the European friends of Mr. Grahame should express any dissatisfaction on account of my having neglected to do all the justice in my power to his memory, I should be able to satisfy them of the expediency of my course from the peculiarity of my situation in respect of Mr. Bancroft. I therefore erased every trace of those facts from my manuscript, and intended never to be instrumental in giving them to the world.

My Memoir was written as an independent work, with the intention that it should appear in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, *and nowhere else*. In that Memoir, I, indeed, noticed, because it could not be avoided, the charge of “invention” preferred against Mr. Grahame by Mr. Bancroft, the defence of Mr. Grahame by Mr. Walsh, and the fact that this was succeeded by another from the pen of Mr. Grahame himself; *omitting altogether the circumstances which led Mr. Grahame to make this personal defence*. Mr. Bancroft having, in the edition of his History published in 1841, withdrawn the charge of “invention” against Grahame and substituted that of “unwarranted misapprehension,” and this change of terms having, as I had reason to believe, never been known to Mr. Grahame, who died in 1842, and as I saw nothing “unwarranted” in his apprehension of the subject in question, I thought it due from me as his biographer to express my dissent to the new phase thus given to the matter, and accordingly I simply said in my Memoir, “It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other,” which I regarded as the mildest and least objectionable form of dissent I could devise. With this exception, there is not in the

whole article a word of comment in reference to this charge of "invention." Knowing the topic to be critical, I endeavoured to present it in the kindest possible form in respect of Mr. Bancroft. *And as to the note appended by Grahame to his revised work, relative to Mr. Bancroft's want of courtesy and candor, I made not the slightest allusion to it. No man who read only my Memoir would have known of its existence.*

As I have stated, that Memoir was written exclusively for the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and with no intention of its appearing anywhere else. Had it appeared as it was originally intended, exclusively as an independent work, Mr. Bancroft would have been deprived of all color of pretext for connecting my Memoir with Grahame's note appended to his revised History. For, as I have stated, *that note was not mentioned or alluded to in the Memoir.*

Unfortunately, after my Memoir was prepared, I received a particular request from Mr. Grahame's son that I would prefix it to his father's History. To this request I acceded, without anticipating the advantage thereby given to Mr. Bancroft to misrepresent my proceedings; nor, had I anticipated it, could I have imagined that he would have been capable of availing himself of it in order to give a false color to my doings in relation to this controversy; as the fact of my having thus prefixed it in compliance with the expressed wish of Mr. Grahame's son was stated in the preface to the History.

In view of the manner in which Mr. Bancroft, in this and in other instances to which I shall allude in this publication, has shown himself capable of dealing with facts, I feel myself at liberty to decline all notice

or regard of what he may hereafter write or publish concerning this controversy. My life having been passed, for nearly half a century, in the fulfilment of the duties of a succession of public offices, of no common distinction or importance, conferred upon me by the confidence of my fellow-citizens, my general character and principles of conduct are well known to them. Relying upon their just appreciation of both, I shall regard any attack upon me by Mr. Bancroft as of little importance, — of very little, *where I am known and where he is known.*

I now turn to the evidence which I have hitherto, from a desire to avoid any personal offence to Mr. Bancroft, withheld from the public, concerning his language and conduct to Mr. Grahame.

Mr. Grahame's History of the United States, tracing the rise and progress of the colonies to the period of the English Revolution of 1688, was, as I have already stated, first published in two volumes octavo in 1827. In the preface to that work, he announced his intention of bringing his History down to the era of American Independence, and the progress he had already made towards its completion.

Seven years afterwards, in the year 1834, Mr. Bancroft issued the first volume of his History of the United States. The ground over which Mr. Bancroft's path lay was almost identical with that Mr. Grahame had already preoccupied, and through which he had opened his way with extraordinary success by his own vigor, unassisted, unencouraged, under innumerable disadvantages, supported only by his admiration of the institutions, and the resulting affection and honor which he entertained for the people, of the United States.

It was natural and to be expected, that a native historian, on entering upon ground which he knew that a learned and industrious foreigner had already explored, and upon which he was then laboring, would have taken some notice of the fact, and paid some tribute to his predecessor. If he had not chosen to express any approbation of his work, it could scarcely be anticipated that he would fail to give some intimation of the preëxisting attempt, and make some acknowledgment of the kind disposition and faithful spirit towards the people of the United States and their institutions which characterized his narrative.

So far from this, although Mr. Grahame's History had been seven years before the public, and although the outline he had sketched and successfully filled up was singularly happy and faithful, Mr. Bancroft neither in his preface nor in the introduction to his History says a word concerning his laborious predecessor. In his notes, indeed, Mr. Bancroft refers to Grahame eight times in this first volume; but in six instances out of the eight, only to suggest errors, and not in one does he express any approbation of Grahame's work. As if overwhelmed by the untried "grandeur and vastness of the subject," Mr. Bancroft declares himself "ready to charge himself with presumption for venturing on so bold an enterprise." To indicate the solitariness of his labors, he gives as a reason for his haste to "publish his volume separately" his "*unwillingness to travel so long a journey alone*," — taking care to omit all notice of the fact, that Mr. Grahame had already beaten a path half through the wilderness, and was at that moment engaged in cutting his way quite through it; — in point of fact, he had fully accomplished this labor four or five years before, although his success was not made

known to the public until a year and a half afterwards. To secure to his work the character of "originality," Mr. Bancroft avers that he had derived his narrative "*ENTIRELY from writings and sources which were the contemporaries of the events that are described,*"* — a pretension, from which he afterwards found himself obliged to make a considerable abatement, and which, as we shall presently see, has been met by the counter declaration, in other quarters, that no man who compares this work with Grahame's can doubt that Mr. Bancroft availed himself of that historian's labors with freedom.

This conduct, on the part of Mr. Bancroft, drew upon him severe animadversion from the learned men of Europe. The remarks of a writer in the Dublin University Magazine, on this subject, are particularly pointed and pertinent. In an elaborate article on the comparative merits of the two historians, this writer observes, — "Mr. Grahame's work appeared in 1827, and the first edition of Mr. Bancroft's did not see the light until 1834. Now, under these circumstances, it is not a little surprising that no obligations or even allusions to his predecessor are expressed. The reader might peruse Mr. Bancroft's bulky and diffuse volumes, without being aware that any one had already surveyed the same ground. This is the more offensive, since it is impossible for any one to read the two books with attention, without being at once aware of the obligations which the one owes to the other. Sometimes very nearly the same words are used, and at other times it is perfectly apparent that Grahame's paragraphs have served as the skeleton around which Bancroft has constructed his." After quoting a few parallel passages in

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. I., pp. v. and viii.

illustration of this point, the writer proceeds, — "This is a sample of the mode in which Mr. Bancroft has availed himself of the unacknowledged labors of his modest and conscientious predecessor. If our space permitted, we could easily show, by quoting whole paragraphs, that not merely the turn of expression, but even the turn of thought, has been copied in like manner. It is needless to make any comments on this subject." *

The haste with which Mr. Bancroft issued his first volume separately from the press, and which he attributes to his "unwillingness to journey alone," may probably be attributed rather to the *desire of avoiding company*. Mr. Grahame had announced, in 1827, that he had made preparation for the extension of his History to the era of American Independence. Mr. Bancroft had a right to anticipate that it was now considerably advanced, and perhaps, at the very moment of publishing his first volume, knew that Mr. Grahame's work was completed and nearly ready for the press; had it been issued previously to the appearance of his own, Mr. Bancroft could hardly have ventured to assume the character of "*originality*," and to claim for his work the greatness of an undertaking altogether unprecedented, — ideas which it is so manifestly his ambition to impress upon the public.

Mr. Grahame's entire work was published in four volumes octavo in 1836. Mr. Bancroft's second volume appeared in 1837. The rival historians were now in the field together, and the first salute Grahame received from Bancroft was an open, direct, and unequal-

* Dublin University Magazine, for December, 1842, No. 120; American edit. Vol. II., No. 6, pp. 678, 679.

ified impeachment of his veracity as an historian, couched in language the bearing of which no man could mistake, and which no man could use without anticipating its effect upon him to whom it was applied. In this second volume Mr. Bancroft made a studied eulogy on the "modest," "virtuous," "persevering," "disinterested," and "benevolent" John Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island in obtaining in 1663 a charter for that colony from Charles the Second. To this eulogy he appended a note in the following words: — "The charge of '*baseness*' in Grahame, I. 315, ed. 1836, is *Grahame's own* INVENTION"; to which he afterwards cursorily adds: — "Grahame is usually very candid *in his judgments*." * This last slight, cursory, and carefully qualified tribute to Grahame, when compared with Bancroft's whole course of conduct in relation to him, is scarcely entitled to be regarded as any evidence of a disposition in him to do justice to this rival historian. It looks rather like the precaution of a practised strategist, who, designing to make a deadly incursion into an enemy's country, takes care to leave a bridge behind him, over which he may retreat in case he find his attack not to succeed according to his hopes.

This note, thus introduced in close connection with a studied eulogy on *the general character of Clarke*, and without other explanation, necessarily implied that Grahame had made a charge of baseness against *Clarke's general character*. Now Grahame had made no such charge. In writing a history of Clarke's negotiation with the ministers of Charles the Second, and of his conduct in it, and particularly of his treatment of Massachusetts and her deputies, as he understood the

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.

relation in Chalmers, Mr. Grahame came to the conclusion that Clarke's conduct was base, which he expressed in the following terms:—"Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought." The charge, therefore, brought by Grahame against Clarke *related exclusively to his conduct in that negotiation*. Concerning Clarke's *general character* Grahame said nothing, and probably knew nothing. The circumstances which led Grahame to apply this epithet to Clarke's conduct on that occasion have been already explained.*

It appears that it was not until April, 1838, that this attack upon his veracity as a historian came to the knowledge of Mr. Grahame. He was at that time residing in France, at Nantes, by the advice of his physicians, as a climate better suited to the constitutional disorders to which he was subject, under the effects of which he was then suffering, and which, in the course of a few years, terminated his life.

Mr. Grahame's feelings, on reading that note in Mr. Bancroft's History, were such as every man of honor would expect, and every man of sensibility must share. Robert Walsh, Esq., of Philadelphia, distinguished for his literary attainments, high moral worth, and gentlemanly bearing, was at that time resident at Paris, where he now sustains the office of American Consul. Between him and Mr. Grahame an intimacy subsisted, founded upon the congeniality of their virtues, dispositions, and pursuits. To him Mr. Grahame wrote, under the date of the 13th of April, 1838, in the following terms:—

"Mr. Bancroft's second volume has greatly interest-

* See ante, pp. 6 - 11.

ed and pleased me. I think his plan bad ; but I hope that the defects will be redeemed by the merits of the execution. He starts abruptly from one subject to another ; and the best rays of his genius are shed on subjects collateral to his main design. He seems, in wantonness, to revel in the play of talent, — sometimes at the expense of judgment and good taste ; yet is he always able. I hope he will *soberize*, and, as he goes on, evince more and more the seeming and the substance of calm, deliberate thought. In a note to page sixty-four, alluding to the base behaviour which in my work I have imputed to one Clarke, an agent at the British court for Rhode Island, in 1662, he says, ‘ *The charge of “baseness” in Grahame is Grahame’s own INVENTION.*’ There is here a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy that should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the *invention*, with which I am charged, were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false. So help me God ! I never with heart invented, nor with tongue or pen uttered, a charge I believed false, against a human being. And how gratuitous the miscreancy imputed to me of falsely blackening the memory of a man who never harmed me or mine, and lived about *two hundred* years ago ! I have written under the guidance of authorities on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification ; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute. I am as little disposed to advance as I am to tolerate a charge of wilful calumny, and must suppose that Mr. Bancroft has very loosely and imperfectly studied the authorities which I

consulted ; a supposition, it must be confessed, nowise creditable to the moral deportment of his historiographic pretensions. However, I hope this is a solitary deviation from candor and rectitude. I am now particularly glad that I wrote some months ago to Mr. Bancroft, expressing my admiration of his first volume, and urging him to perseverance in his noble toil, as hereafter I can never hold the slightest intercourse with him. I shall esteem it a great favor, if you will communicate these observations to him. No one more heartily desires his success and renown, than the brother historian whom he has recklessly vilified."

A letter more indicative of natural and true feeling, evincing a higher tone of moral sentiment, a more just sense of wrong, or applying language more appropriate to the injury he had received, no human being ever indited.

It was received and responded to by Mr. Walsh in a kindred spirit. He replied to Mr. Grahame, that it was his intention to vindicate him against Mr. Bancroft's attack. This intention he carried into effect by a communication to the editor of the New York American, which appeared in that paper on the 14th of November, 1838.*

In this communication, Mr. Walsh, after paying a due tribute to Mr. Grahame, as "the greatest friend and benefactor of America among European writers," and doing justice to "the indefatigable zeal and the fond predilection with which he had explored, and the skill and elegance with which he had digested, the early history of all the North American States," proceeds to comment "on the round and cavalier imputation

* See Appendix, B.

made upon his veracity" by Mr. Bancroft in his History of the United States; and, after declaring, "all who know Mr. Grahame personally would implicitly trust him in what assertion soever," introduces, by way of vindication of him, that extract from Mr. Grahame's letter to himself which is contained in the preceding pages.

From this publication Mr. Bancroft learned the injury he had done to Mr. Grahame's feelings, the concurrence of a mind like that of Mr. Walsh in the justice of those feelings, and, from the tenor of Mr. Grahame's letter to Mr. Walsh, that the wound he had inflicted was deep, painful, and irritating; and although, under the first stinging sense of insult, Mr. Grahame was impelled to declare that he must ever after decline to "*hold the slightest intercourse with him,*" yet, on the other hand, the language of that letter indicated the innate kindness of his spirit, containing, from its very nature, an assurance that any apology would be readily and willingly received. And how does Mr. Bancroft behave on this occasion? He now knew that he had used towards a gentleman of refinement and elevated sentiment language which, in view of the circumstances under which it was employed and the point to which it was directed, that gentleman regarded as in the highest degree insulting. He also knew that another gentleman, second to few, if to any, in intelligence and in the knowledge of what was due from one gentleman to another, concurred in the reasonableness and justice of that feeling. How does Mr. Bancroft act towards him whom he has thus injured? Does he hasten to make the amends due from a gentleman? Does the first mail carry an acknowledgment of his error? Are the newspapers, through which

he received an account of the sense of wrong done by him to another, made the vehicles of his regret, and of reparation? Does he take pains to cause the public, before whose face the insult was offered, to be informed that it was unintentional? Far otherwise. It calls from him not a word of acknowledgment, not a syllable of regret. Among the great discoveries with which his imagination teems, he had not then found out that greatest of all, which he now announces in his letter to Mr. Buckingham, that to charge a man with INVENTING A FACT *means only that* WHAT HE HAD STATED HAD NO FOUNDATION IN FACT! Instead of apologizing, he justifies; instead of withdrawing, he repeats. Instead of using soothing words and doing kind acts, to diminish the anguish he had inflicted, he turns the weapon in the wound, and leaves it to rankle and gangrene. Above all, *he makes the act of new wrong to Mr. Grahame an occasion for self-flattery and laudation.*

On the 4th of December, 1838, there appeared in the Boston Morning Post an article, which, on the 19th of the same month, was copied into the Providence Republican Herald, attacking Mr. Grahame in a bitter, reckless spirit. Following in the path in which Mr. Bancroft had led, and assuming the same false view of Grahame's charge, as having been directed against the general character of Clarke, the writer asserts that Grahame had "blackened his character," leaves it to the judgment of the reader whether he had not "falsely blackened it," and, as if to vindicate Clarke against the aspersions of Grahame on his general character, proceeds to laud that general character, shows what an excellent man Clarke was, the high terms in which he is spoken of by the Baptist and Rhode Island writers, as "a Christian," "courteous and amiable," "an orna-

ment to his profession and offices," "deserving of honor for his efforts in favor of civil and religious liberty," "the original projector of the settlement on the Island," "a Daniel, in whom it seems as if his enemies could find no fault," "a patriot," "freely parting with his money for the public good"; and lest this evidence might be deemed partial, he brings forward the corroborative testimony of an article in Allen's Biographical Dictionary, — endorsed, he is careful to inform us, by "the accurate Savage," as "*the best in that laborious work*," — to the effect (I quote the whole extract) that "Clarke's life was so pure that he never was accused of any vice which has left a blot on his memory; he possessed the singular honor of contributing much towards establishing the first government upon the earth which gave equal liberty, civil and religious, to all men living under it; and he left his farm in Newport to charitable purposes, the income of it to be given to the poor, and to be employed for the support of learning and religion." Whereupon the writer triumphantly concludes, — "Here is certainly no evidence of '*baseness*.' Does not the testimony completely reverse the dark picture by Grahame?"

In the course of this extraordinary article, the writer thus eulogizes Mr. Bancroft: — "Knowing Mr. Bancroft to be unwearied in research, and seldom wrong in regard to historical truth and data, we have taken sufficient interest in this matter to consult all the authorities to whom Mr. Grahame especially refers as his guides, — as also all others from whom any light on the point at issue could be expected; but, unfortunately for Mr. Grahame, we do not find that any of them sustain him in the charge of '*baseness*' against Clarke. On the contrary, they go together in supporting Mr. Bancroft's commentary on the charge."

Now either this article was wholly written by Mr. Bancroft, or if not, he at least knew, approved of it, and assisted in writing it. From its tenor, temper, and language, no man who knows Mr. Bancroft can doubt, that, to all substantial purposes, he was the author of it. *It was charged upon him publicly by Mr. Grahame, as we shall see, and HE NEVER DARED TO DENY IT.* But whether he wrote the whole of it or not, his responsibility as a man of feeling and a gentleman is the same. If, with the consciousness of the "*censurable expression*" he had used towards Mr. Grahame, and which he acknowledges to have been such, he knew of that communication to the Boston Morning Post, previously to its appearance in the public prints, and did not use his utmost influence to prevent the publication of it, his guilt and his shame are the same, and without the possibility of an apology.

What shall we say, then, *when we learn that he actually knew of it, approved of it, and helped the writer of it?* And that these are facts, the subjoined letter to me from the Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, is my evidence.*

* "Charlestown, May 31st, 1845.

"DEAR SIR,—Respecting the question which you ask me in your letter of to-day, I reply :—

"Mr. Bancroft showed me the piece in the Morning Post, and I read it over in his study. On perusing it, I said to him, 'Of course you wrote this yourself,' or something to that precise effect. He answered, 'No, I did not write the piece; but I know who did, and gave him some help.' I well remember that the impression made on my mind at the time—whether just or not—was, that Mr. Bancroft collected the materials, references, arguments, &c., and put them into the hands of a friend, with the request that he would perform a service which no one would have been likely to have volunteered.

"Most respectfully and truly yours,

"GEORGE E. ELLIS.

"President QUINCY, Cambridge."

The feelings of Mr. Grahame, as was natural to a gentleman and a man of sensibility, were roused to indignation, when he found insult added to injury, and that Mr. Bancroft had knowledge of this attack beforehand, and was instrumental in aiding, if he was not the sole author of, the publication. In a letter to Mr. Walsh, he immediately communicated his determination to make a short reply "to this furious tirade against himself." This intention he carried into effect by a letter addressed to the editor of the New York American, which was published in that paper in October, 1839, and is subjoined in full in the Appendix. It will be seen by reference to that letter, that he applied the epithet "baseness" exclusively to Clarke's language and conduct in negotiating the Rhode Island charter of 1663, and expresses the hope that in another edition he shall "lessen the displeasure he had inspired in the admirers of that excellent and estimable man, Dr. Clarke." In commenting on the attack made upon him by Mr. Bancroft, and on the manner in which that attack had been justified and sustained by the writer of the article in the Boston Morning Post, he expresses his "*regret that any man, much more that an American, should be its author,*" — adding, "*My regret must be increased, if it be true, as I am assured by one who ought to know, THAT MR. BANCROFT IS HIMSELF THE AUTHOR OF AN ARTICLE SO LAUDATORY TO HIMSELF AND SO CENSORIOUS OF ME.*" *

Two years had elapsed since the original injustice offered by Mr. Bancroft to Mr. Grahame, and one year since the feelings of Mr. Grahame in relation to that injustice had been made known to Mr. Bancroft. Dur-

* See Appendix, C.

ing all this period, instead of writing to Mr. Grahame on the subject, he stands aloof, in the self-assumed dignity of vindicator of a wrong done to John Clarke, and uses that pretence of wrong as a cloak, under which he may make a more deadly thrust at the feelings of his rival. Nor is there any evidence that he ever intended or thought of doing more, antecedently to Mr. Grahame's reply to his "furious tirade" in the Boston Morning Post. But that reply gave Mr. Bancroft the knowledge that Grahame was apprised of his participation in that publication, and, being conscious of the fact, he could not fail to anticipate the disgrace which would necessarily attach to him if it were publicly charged and brought home to him. When, therefore, this fact was again pressed upon his fears by the following letter of Mr. Grahame to Mr. Ellis, his apprehensions led him to the only attempt he ever made towards a satisfactory expiation of his injustice to Mr. Grahame, so far as the documents transmitted to me by Mr. Grahame's family indicate.

On the 6th of November, 1839, Mr. Grahame, in a letter written from Nantes to the Rev. George E. Ellis, placing in strong contrast his conception of the characters of William H. Prescott and George Bancroft, thus expresses himself:—

"One thing with regard to that gentleman [William H. Prescott] strikes me much. All your countrymen who know him and have spoken of him to me seem to rush eagerly from the praise of his talent and genius to a still warmer homage to his moral character, and seem to forget their admiration of the scholar and the man of letters in their respectful contemplation of the man and the gentleman.

"With regard to my dispute with Mr. Bancroft, I

could wish the subject buried and forgotten. What does he mean by proposing that I shall either retract my charge against Clarke, or cite the authorities whence I derived it? Why, they are cited already, and in my first publication (which Mr. Bancroft must be acquainted with, since it seems he wrote a review of it) even the pages to which I refer are particularized. I have neither of the authorities (Chalmers and Hazard) with me here. But I wrote to a literary friend in London desiring him to verify my references, and, in answer, he assures me that Chalmers bears me out in every word I have said. The writer, then, of that article in the newspaper which you sent me (and who some of your countrymen tell me is Mr. Bancroft himself), in asserting that my statement is unwarranted by my authorities, either refers to authorities which he has never consulted, or wilfully misrepresents those that I have cited.

"I wish to say no more, and if possible think no more, on the subject. Of Dr. Clarke, from the information I have gained in the course of this discussion, I am led to form a very high opinion; and this shall be expressed in the next edition of my work, if it ever reach another edition. But I suspect, that, on the occasion in question, he was transported by his zeal beyond the line of honor, and did for others what he would not have done for himself.

"Offer my respects to Mr. Bancroft. Tell him I sincerely desire his welfare and literary success, and hope, that, if he come to Europe, or I go to America, we shall meet as friends."

Such was Mr. Grahame's letter to Mr. Ellis. In the records of human controversy, was there ever any thing more beautiful, more honorable, more Christian-

like in its spirit? Notwithstanding, as before stated, two years had elapsed since the first injustice he had received from Mr. Bancroft, and one year since Mr. Bancroft knew of the deep wound he had inflicted on Mr. Grahame, — and although, during this whole period, Mr. Grahame had not heard a word of acknowledgment or apology from his assailant; yet, in the spirit of “forgiving every one his brother their trespasses,” he proffers him his hand across the Atlantic, and promises that if they ever meet, it shall be, on his part, at least, as a friend.

This letter was communicated by Mr. Ellis to Mr. Bancroft; and how was it received and reciprocated by him? Mr. Grahame had now virtually withdrawn the expression in his letter to Mr. Walsh, declining all correspondence with Mr. Bancroft, at which he pretended to have taken offence, and extends to him the hand of a gentleman and a friend. Is it accepted by Mr. Bancroft in the spirit in which it was proffered? Far from it. He continues to stand aloof from the man he has both injured and insulted, in the self-assumed dignity and office of defender of John Clarke. He condescends not even to write to Mr. Grahame, but, seeking Mr. Prescott, on the 26th of December, 1839, he addressed to that gentleman a letter which Mr. Prescott saw fit to transmit to Mr. Grahame. A copy of that letter has been transmitted to me by the family of Mr. Grahame, and is printed at length in the Appendix.*

On this letter it is impossible not to remark, — first, in reference to its spirit. Mr. Bancroft begins with “*regretting that an ill-considered word of his had*

* See Appendix, D.

placed him apparently in an attitude of hostility, where he had alike every motive and every disposition to have cultivated a different relation"; taking care to forget that Mr. Grahame had, in a communication to the New York American, and now again, in this very letter to Mr. Ellis, avowed, and given his reasons for, the belief, that this "ill-considered word" had been deliberately and openly justified in a publication participated in by him, in the Boston Morning Post, — and that the insult it conveyed had been extended and aggravated by his use of language still more opprobrious, charging Grahame with having "blackened, falsely blackened, Clarke's character." If Mr. Bancroft had no concern in that publication, would he not have vindicated himself promptly from any participation in language so wholly inconsistent with friendly feelings towards Mr. Grahame? If he had no concern in it, would he not have repelled the suggestion of such an idea with indignation?

Second, as to the terms which Mr. Bancroft proposes as the condition of his apologizing for the original insult. Although he admits that he "*BEGAN the misunderstanding by a censurable expression,*" yet he offers no apology *except upon condition precedent*. If Mr. Grahame would "*perceive,*" and of course acknowledge, "*his misconception,*" then Mr. Bancroft "*would well know how to frame a satisfactory statement.*" A man, admitting that he had begun the controversy by an injustice, conscious that he had followed out the original injustice by an aggravated insult, requires that he whom he has thus treated should take the first step towards an accommodation! Without such previous concession, Mr. Bancroft would not condescend to take the hand of Mr. Grahame, though he

had extended it towards him in the spirit of reconciliation !

It was natural, that, under all the circumstances of Mr. Bancroft's conduct, Mr. Grahame's feelings should be rather excited than allayed by this letter of his to Mr. Prescott. What those feelings were can only be gathered from a letter to Mr. Walsh, in February, 1840, and by the note appended to his revised History. In his letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks, — "Mr. Prescott inclosed to me a note he had just received from Mr. Bancroft, which I read with pain. Mr. Bancroft makes a half or three-fourths acknowledgment of error and inconsideration. I wish to forget the whole affair, and to think kindly of him. Will he reciprocate this feeling, and 'let by-gones be by-gones,' as we say in dear Scotland?"

Two other letters were, indeed, written by Mr. Grahame to the Rev. Mr. Ellis, in one of which, as Mr. Ellis states, he expressed very distinctly his views of the conduct of Mr. Bancroft. When, in January, 1845, I was preparing to write my Memoir of Grahame, I applied to Mr. Ellis for these letters, who answered, *that he had lent them confidentially to Mr. Bancroft*, but that, although he had repeatedly requested them of him, he could never get them out of his hands, Mr. Bancroft saying that he had lost or mislaid them; which, considering their nature, and the manner in which they were intrusted to him, Mr. Ellis regarded as very extraordinary. Since the commencement of the present year, Mr. Bancroft wrote to Mr. Ellis *asking the loan of those same letters*; which, considering they had never been returned to him, but, although often requested, as often been withheld on the ground of Mr. Bancroft's having

lost or mislaid them, Mr. Ellis regarded as still more extraordinary. Mr. Ellis replied, that, if in existence, they were in his (Mr. Bancroft's) possession. Mr. Bancroft soon after returned one of the letters, *but that which Mr. Ellis states contained Mr. Grahame's view of Mr. Bancroft's treatment of him is yet missing!*

It appears from the documents transmitted by his family, that Mr. Grahame "continued the revision of his historical work, and terminated it shortly before his death," which occurred in July, 1842. Oppressed with disease, in the daily anticipation of death, — indignant at the succession of injuries and insults he regarded himself as having received from Mr. Bancroft, and satisfied that no apology was intended, except upon conditions to which he could not submit, — he felt it to be imperatively demanded of him that he should take the vindication of his fame before the world and posterity into his own hands; and he accordingly appended that note to his History, which, in respect of its bearing on himself, Mr. Bancroft has denominated "*a groundless attack.*" Whether it was any thing more than an exercise on Mr. Grahame's part of the just rights of self-defence, or towards Mr. Bancroft any thing more than a just retribution, it remains for the public to decide.

I trust I have shown to the satisfaction of every fair and impartial mind, —

1st. That Mr. Grahame's charges against the deputy of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Dr. John Clarke, in reference to the conduct of the negotiation of 1662, were neither "*his own invention*" nor the result of "*unwarranted misapprehension*" on his part; that, on the contrary, he had ample warrant for

the statement on which he preferred these charges, in the evidence afforded by the authorities whom he indicates, Chalmers and Hazard, and in the notorious and incontrovertible circumstances of the case; and that the new evidence recently discovered by Mr. Bancroft, however it may be regarded as affecting *Chalmers's* pretensions to accuracy in the application of the language he quotes, is totally irrelevant to the end for which it is adduced, — to overthrow, or even to impair, *Grahame's* credit as a faithful historian, seeking the guidance of the highest authorities, and true to them.

2d. That, as respects my proceedings in relation to the difficulty between Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Grahame, they have been uniformly marked by a disposition to shun all participation in it, — and this from motives of delicacy towards Mr. Bancroft; that, guided by these motives, I have heretofore carefully avoided and suppressed, so far as it was left discretionary with me, whatever might be calculated to affect him painfully or injuriously; and that, therefore, in artfully connecting me, as he does, with Mr. Grahame, in the remark, that, “*in giving publicity to the new version of Grahame's calumny on Clarke, accompanied by an impeachment of my 'candor,' 'correctness,' and 'rectitude,'* MR. JOSIAH QUINCY STEPS FORWARD TO DEFEND IT,” Mr. Bancroft is virtually guilty of gross misrepresentation, — as it is only by a critical analysis of his language, such as few readers would ever be likely to bestow, that the truth, as respects the part really taken by me in relation to the matters referred to, is discoverable.

3d. That Mr. Bancroft's conduct towards Mr. Grahame, from first to last, has been marked by a spirit such as renders him justly amenable to the imputa-

tions he complains of; that in bringing these imputations Mr. Grahame made no "*groundless attack*" upon him, but only administered to him a rebuke demanded by his own self-respect, and which will find a ready response in every mind animated in any degree by generous sentiments or a sense of right.

APPENDIX.

A. Page 11.

THE passage in Mr. Grahame's History, which in 1837 drew from Mr. Bancroft the charge of "invention," and in 1841 the charge of "unwarranted misapprehension," against that historian, is as follows:—

"The restored monarchical government was proclaimed with eager haste in this colony [Rhode Island]; and one Clarke was soon after despatched as deputy from the colonists to England, in order to carry their dutiful respects to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favor. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted, in courtly strains, the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, of which the sole proof he could give was, that they had bestowed the name of King's Province on a territory acquired by them from the Indians; but, meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to cite any one demonstration of duty or loyalty by their constituents to the present king or his father, from the period of their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success."—Grahame's History of the United States, Vol. I., p. 315, edit. 1836.

The following are the passages in Chalmers's Annals from which Mr. Grahame modelled the preceding passage in his History:—

"They [the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations] cultivated the friendship of the neighbouring sachems with the greatest success; whereby they acquired considerable influence over their minds, which was of considerable importance; and that ascendancy they employed, during the year 1644, to procure from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown, in consideration of that protec-

tion which the unhappy monarch then wanted for himself. *The deputies of these plantations boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of this transaction, and at the same time 'challenged the agents of Boston to display any one act of duty or loyalty shewn by their constituents to Charles the First, or to the present king, from their first establishment in New England.'*" — Chalmers's Political Annals of the United Colonies, Book I., ch. 11, p. 273.

"That event [the Restoration] gave great satisfaction to these plantations, because they hoped to be relieved from that constant dread of Massachusetts which had so long afflicted them. And *they immediately proclaimed Charles the Second*, because they wished for protection, and intended soon to beg for favors. *They not long after sent Clarke as their agent to the court of that monarch, to solicit for a patent*, which was deemed in New England so essential to real jurisdiction." — *Ibid.*, p. 274.

B. Page 39.

MR. WALSH'S LETTER ON MR. GRAHAME. FROM THE NEW YORK AMERICAN, NOVEMBER 14, 1838.

"APPROPOS of friends and enemies of America, the first of the former among European writers has long resided at Nantes. I refer to James Grahame, Esq., originally of Lanarkshire, Scotland, author of the 'History of the United States of America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies till their Revolt and Declaration of Independence'; a work, the first part of which, issued in 1827, was strongly recommended, several years ago, in some of our principal literary journals, to the favor of the American people. The History has been reprinted, with the addition of two volumes, and now consists of four octavos, excellent in style, and beautiful in typography. It is truly, as the author mentions in his Preface, 'the fruit of more than eleven years of intense meditation, eager research, industrious composition, and solicitous revisal'; and, what we should also greatly value, it was prompted by the warmest predilection and esteem for the United States. 'I am not desirous,' he observes in the same Preface, 'of concealing that I regard America with feelings of the strongest, perhaps the most partial, regard.' This regard animated him throughout his arduous task, and remains in all its vivacity, although the degree of attention and honor due to his production has not been yet paid in America. He has never crossed the Atlantic. His labors, so far from yielding him any pecuniary profit, have cost him upwards of six hundred pounds sterling. They have cost him still more in the deterioration of his health; and it was scarcely possible for any constitution to

remain unimpaired under the ardor, anxiety, and pains with which he sought to do justice to his cherished subject. Suffer me to cite some more sentences from his Preface."

[An extract follows from pages xi., xii., and xiii. of the Preface, beginning, "There has never been a people," and ending, "in reviving piety and invigorating virtue."]

"In this there is no exaggeration. You will unite with me in considering the man who has thus indefatigably and fondly explored, and skillfully and elegantly digested, the early history of all the North American States, as our greatest friend and benefactor among European writers. He is constantly employed in collecting materials for the improvement of his work in another edition, and means to bequeath his collections and manuscripts to one of our universities. I have exhorted him to undertake, as a sequel, the history of our Revolutionary War, and of the establishment of our present political system, with the new editions of the Writings of Washington and Franklin, and the Memoirs of Lafayette, as his chief sources of information. He has seized the idea with wonted enthusiasm; but I fear that his health will not prove equal to its accomplishment. The proper panegyric on his work has been bestowed in several of the leading Reviews of Great Britain. The Academy of Nantes have inserted in their Transactions a highly encomiastic account of it, after having elected him a member of their society. Mr. Grahame appears to be about forty-eight or fifty years of age; has an amiable temper and pious spirit, — a tall, fine person, and handsome, fair face; he converses eloquently, and expatiates with as much affectionate interest as he writes about the United States.

"It has really affected me, and I know has deeply chagrined him, that Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the Colonization, has hazarded an imputation on his veracity. I copy the charge, as roundly and cavalierly made in the following note, — Vol. II., p. 64. — [The whole is copied]. You will not hesitate, I am sure, to give me space for the following extract from a private letter of Mr. Grahame, to whom I sent Mr. Bancroft's work. It is an act of common justice to afford a hearing to such a man, when thus arraigned. All those who know him personally would implicitly trust him, in what assertion so ever. This extract contains, besides, critical opinions, which must be deemed of high authority, and by which our gifted countryman may profit. 'Mr. Bancroft's second volume has greatly interested and pleased me. I think his plan bad, but I hope that the defects will be redeemed by the merits of the execution. He starts abruptly from one subject to another, and the best rays of his genius are shed on subjects collateral to his main design. He seems in wantonness to revel in the play of talent, — sometimes at the expense of judgment and good taste; yet is he always able. I hope he will soberize, and, as he goes on, evince more and more the seeming and substance of calm, deliberate thought. In a note to page sixty-four, alluding to the

base behaviour which, in my work, I have imputed to one Clarke, an agent at the British court for Rhode Island, in 1662, he says, — “The charge of ‘baseness’ in Grahame is Grahame’s own invention.” There is here a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy that should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the invention with which I am charged were justly laid to me ; but the imputation is utterly false. So help me God, I never with heart invented, nor with tongue or pen uttered, a charge I believed false, against a human being ; and how gratuitous the miscreancy imputed to me of falsely blackening the memory of a man who never harmed me or mine, and lived about two hundred years ago ! I have written under the guidance of authorities on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification ; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute. I am as little disposed to advance as I am to tolerate a charge of wilful calumny, and must suppose that Mr. Bancroft has very loosely and imperfectly studied the authorities which I consulted, — a supposition, it must be confessed, nowise creditable to the moral department of his historiographic pretensions. However, I hope this is a solitary deviation from candor and rectitude. I am now particularly glad that I wrote some months ago to Mr. Bancroft, expressing my admiration of his first volume, and urging him to perseverance in his noble toil, as hereafter I can never hold the slightest intercourse with him.’”

C. Page 44.

EXTRACT FROM THE NEW YORK AMERICAN, 26TH OCTOBER, 1839.

“ *Grahame’s History of the United States.*

“It may be in the recollection of many of our readers, that, in one of the letters of our Paris correspondent, last spring, an unbecoming attack by Mr. George Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, on the veracity of Mr. Grahame, was earnestly, but tenderly, reprehended. Since then, as would seem from the annexed letter, this attack has been followed up by a yet more indecent justification of its truth in some Eastern papers ; and we therefore feel it to be due, not less to the cause of truth than to the dignity of letters, which are degraded by such illiberality, to publish, with the expression of our entire conviction of its accuracy, and commendation of its tone, the following letter from Mr. Grahame.

"We may add, that, having ourselves read, with instruction and gratitude, the *History of the United States* by Mr. Grahame, we the more lament that a native of a land to which a foreign historian has done such ample justice, and whose history, exploits, and institutions he has treated with such enthusiasm, yet disciplined skill and admiration, should have selected that historian as a mark for an assault, as illiberal as we believe it to be unfounded.

"*Nantes, September 7, 1839.*

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK AMERICAN :

"SIR : — A very flattering notice (proceeding, I have reason to believe, from one of the most distinguished writers that America has ever produced), in which I was honored in your pages some time ago, has called forth certain strictures on me of a very different complexion from the *Boston Morning Post*, subsequently reproduced in the *Providence Daily Journal*, of which a copy has just reached my hands. May I beg the favor of your assistance to make public the few observations I have to submit on this disagreeable matter? My eyesight is so much impaired that I write with great difficulty, yet I hope to make myself intelligible. In my historical work, guided by authorities on which I relied, I have charged Dr. Clarke, the agent for Rhode Island at the court of Charles the Second, in 1662, with an act of baseness in the conduct of his agency. Your distinguished countryman, Mr. Bancroft, in the second volume of his historical work, has designated this charge as 'Grahame's own invention.' I have denied the justice of this imputation, protesting that I may have been deceived, but most certainly have not invented. The *Boston Post* defends, against me, both the conduct of Clarke and the language of Bancroft. The first of these topics is foreign to my present consideration. In the next edition of my work (if it reach another edition) I hope to lessen the displeasure I have inspired in the admirers of that excellent and estimable man, Dr. Clarke.

"I have blamed Mr. Bancroft for imputing that to my own invention, which, whether judiciously or not, I have related on the authority of prior testimony, — in the which he might easily have made himself acquainted, and which (cited as it was by me) he ought to have examined before he reproached me with preferring an unsupported and fictitious charge. But the *Boston journalist* has gone a step farther, and declared, that, after examining all the authorities I have consulted, he finds they not only fail to support my charge against Clarke, but fully support Mr. Bancroft's charge against myself. To a writer who deliberately publishes such a statement I can have nothing to say, but that I regret that any man, much more that an American, should be its author. My regret must be increased, if it be true, as I am assured by one who ought to know, that Mr. Bancroft is himself the author of an article so laudatory to himself and so censorious of me.

"But to any impartial man in America, who takes an interest in this

controversy, I would suggest, that for the obnoxious passage in my work, and some correlative matter, there are but two authorities cited, — and these well known and easily accessible, — Chalmers and Hazard ; and that, if he will examine these authorities, he will be in case to pronounce whether I have ‘invented’ a new charge or merely repeated an old one. This is the first time I have ever publicly noticed any attack (though I have sustained some very unjust and very insulting ones) to which the publication of my American History has exposed me, and it shall be the last. It is said that your countrymen have invented some new words, and also some new meanings for old words. He must have invented a new meaning of the word *invention*, who affects to regard it as otherwise than injuriously applied to the statement of an historian.

“ Mr. Bancroft may be much better fitted than I am to give the literary lustre they deserve to the annals of America, and eagerly have I desired that the noblest wreath for her own brows should be woven by the hands of one of her own sons, — but not even to Mr. Bancroft will I yield, in point of admiration of America and good-will for Americans. It is, I think, a proof of the depth and sincerity of these sentiments, that I have never failed to note and condemn what appeared to me a faulty passage in American history.

“ I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ JAMES GRAHAME.”

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LETTER FROM G. BANCROFT TO W. H. PRESCOTT.

“ *Boston, Dec. 26, 1839.*

“ MY DEAR FRIEND :

“ I got Mr. Grahame’s message from Ellis, and it made me regret more than ever that an ill-considered word of mine had placed me apparently in an attitude of hostility, where I had alike every motive and every disposition to have cultivated a different relation. If Mr. Grahame had not, in his published letter to the correspondent of the New York American, declined correspondence with me, I should immediately have made public and have sent him an explanation.

“ Mr. Grahame was led into error respecting Clarke by attributing to his negotiation for a charter what may have happened, as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second, — but in a later negotiation about lands and boundaries, a negotiation which took place after Clarke’s return, and, I think, after his death. The name King’s Province was not known till after the grant of the charter,

and after Clarke's return. I did not understand the precise nature of Mr. Grahame's misconception till I read his letter to Ellis.

"Hitherto I have kept silent, and now hardly know what to do. If Mr. Grahame should perceive his misconception, I should well know how to frame a statement that would be satisfactory alike to him and to those who take an interest in Mr. Clarke's good name. I hope we may both come to view the facts alike.

"I have always cherished friendly feelings toward Mr. Grahame. A sentiment of gratitude is his due. I have been vexed with myself, that a zeal for accuracy, which I cannot blame, led me into a form of expression, unhappily, but not with forethought, liable to an offensive construction. I hope he will give me leave to make some statement that will remove the present appearance of a misunderstanding between us, which a censurable expression of mine begun, and which I am most desirous of terminating.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"GEORGE BANCROFT.

"W. H. PRESCOTT, Esq."



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